586 After they are weaned, the children return to their father, unless the dowry has not been paid in full.

CHAPTER IV. BIRTH AND FILIATION

[843] A pregnant woman continues with her work until the moment of her delivery. A Muhutu woman may even give birth while working 844 in the fields. This must not be considered the result of her hard lot but is due to the influence of tradition. Seeing her relatives and neighbors behaving in this way, she would never imagine that she might remain inactive while awaiting her child's arrival.

[787] When the event is near, the auguries are consulted to find out the most favorable place for the [35] birth. It might take place at the home of the wife's parents.

846 During the week following the birth, the woman rests; her husband surrounds her with attention and sees that she lacks nothing, meat, milk, beer, etc. (guhemba umubyeyi, lit., to reward the mother). In addition, the wife's parents also bring her presents. About 553 the eighth day the mother begins to go out again on condition that the 292 day is an even one (1). For this occasion, she puts on her finest clothes,

[805] [777] [461]

1. The week in Ruanda has four work days and one day of rest. Uneven days are considered ill-omened.

a dress of cowskin (ikanda), or if she is a Mututsi, a leopardskin with which she covers her shoulders. On her head she puts on a kind of crown (urugori) made of sorghum straw (2) which she will proudly wear

2. Among the rich Batutsi, the urugori is trimmed with beads.

from then on, for it is the emblem of a mother's dignity. The young 553 mother places herself near the door of the rugo with her husband. If the child is a boy, the father slips a miniature spear, bow, arrow, and shield between his fingers so that he will be brave. The

2. Chronometry, Counting, Arithmetic

821 The astronomical observations and knowledge of the Barundi are very meager. To them the sun (isuba) is only the wandering fire of Imana, the principal god. They believe that when the sun goes down in the west it falls into the hands of the Wabemba. The Wabemba, however, are cannibals and eat the sun, except for a small piece which escapes them and returns to the east where it once more grows to its full size and rises again in the morning (No. 19, p. 53).

In the minds of the Barundi the moon (ukwesi) is of greater importance, for it is by the regularly recurring phases of the moon that they measure the time. The moon is a male (or hermaphroditic?) being; the evening star is his favorite wife; the other stars are his children and servants; the stars of the "Great Bear" are his concubines; and those of Orion are his oldest sons (No. 19, p. 54). As among all Negroes, the appearance of the first crescent after new moon is greeted with jubilation, but the Barundi have no special cult devoted to the return of the moon. The word ukwesi, moon, has the same root as the Swahili word mwesi; the moon is the shining, strong, and powerful one. This is probably also the origin of the name Mwesi for one of the Barundi kings (see p. 162 [not translated]). The name Unjamwesi really refers to the land of Mwesi, i.e., Urundi, but when the Arabs invaded the lake region (in 1840), they applied this name to the whole area south of Lake Victoria and east of Lake Tanganyika. They named it after the most powerful of the local rulers, the king of Urundi. Thus, the name has been retained for the region of Unjamwesi which, in addition to Tabora, was occupied by the Arabs; yet the real land of Mwesi (Urundi) remained closed to them.

●805 Everything in Urundi is determined by the course and the changes of the moon. The year is a lunar year, but the year is not consciously divided into twelve months, nor is there any definite measure of time for a year (umwaka). A year has passed when the two main seasons, the dry season and the rainy season, have passed. Within this framework, time is reckoned by the various agricultural activities undertaken at certain phases of the

805 moon during the rainy season or the dry season, for example: beginning of the rainy season (end of October), sowing corn; end of the rainy season (end of May), planting manioc; birth of a boy, full moon after the corn was sowed; death of a relative, new moon after planting manioc, and so forth. Nobody is able to count back in time for more than eight or ten years, and to do this one counts by saying: we have harvested sorghum so many times (No. 19, p. 377). Nobody knows exactly how old he is as soon as he is more than eight to ten years old. If one describes an event as 20, 30, or 40 years in the past, he means by this merely that it happened a long time ago.

To be specific, certain seasons which are marked by regularly recurring agricultural events are given definite names which one might call the names of months as determined by the agricultural cycle. Van der Burgt lists a whole series [146] of these (No. 19, p. 377), for example: uratsi, time when the grass sprouts (end of September and beginning of October); umwirima, beginning of the rainy season, beginning of planting and sowing (end of October, November); umwirawura, sprouting of the seed (December); umukuwesi, the corn is beginning to form cobs, beans are blossoming (end of December); ikigarama, beans are ripe (beginning of January); ikidida, beans are picked (end of January); akataschi, sorghum is planted (beginning of February); uruschana, corn is ripe (end of February, beginning of March); umunjonjo, sorghum is growing cobs (end of March); urusamo, sorghum is almost ripe (beginning of April); akawosa, harvesting sorghum (end of April); uruheschi, end of the rainy season, planting manioc, harvesting corn (end of May); itsi, dry season, time for drinking beer and catching fish (June to October); umukakora, burning the grass (June, July, August); akasjabirano, preparing the fields (October).

805 201 Of course the Barundi do not divide the day into twelve hours but into periods determined by the position of the sun and by phenomena which regularly occurs during daylight. Like almost all Negroes, when referring to a certain time of day in a story, they indicate the particular position of the sun in the sky

805 201 with their outstretched hand. They also do this when they wish to indicate the length of a trip or the distance between two places. Specific expressions are used for the following times of day: first crowing of the cock, first signs of daybreak, dawn, time of the awakening of the birds, rising of the sun, time between noon and evening, beginning of dusk, sundown, nightfall, bedtime, midnight, very late, very early. The concept for "week" is unknown.

802 201 When counting and reckoning (kuharura) the Murundi uses the fingers of one or both hands; he does not use his toes or his feet. Like all Bantu Negroes, the Barundi count by placing together or bending a certain number or group of fingers. They thus employ the decimal system. In the Bantu language the numbers from one to ten are: one, umwe; two, iwili; three, itatu; four, inne; five, itano; six, itandatu; seven, indwi; eight, umunane; nine, tschjenda; ten, tschjumi. Frequently, however, one may hear them count by using combinations of numbers with five, i.e., $6 = 5 + 1$, $7 = 5 + 2$, $8 = 5 + 3$, $9 = 5 + 4$. The number of fingers on one hand is thus the arithmetical unit which, as a closed fist, is always used for calculations. Individual numbers are indicated with the fingers in the following manner: one, outstretched index finger of the right hand with the other fingers bent inward; two, outstretched index finger and middle finger with the other fingers bent; three, outstretched index finger, middle finger, and ring finger with the other fingers bent; four, all fingers of a hand, except the thumb, outstretched; five fist formed with the right hand; six, fist formed with the right hand touched by the outstretched little finger of the left hand; seven, fist formed with the right hand touched with the little finger and ring finger of the left hand; eight, fist formed with the right hand touched with the little finger, ring finger, and middle finger of the left hand; nine, fist formed by the right hand and touched with the little finger, ring finger, middle finger, and index finger of the left hand; ten, two fists placed together. In order to indicate eleven, the fists are beaten together once and then the index finger of the

791 The dangers which formerly threatened them in times of drought were such as to keep them away from the capital.

132 Before mentioning their duties, we deem it useful to list the
221 names of the native months and seasons with a short explanation of
805 their meaning. This will make it easier to understand the importance of these men to their compatriots, whom they fleece shamelessly.

Part One

Months, Seasons, and Principal Rains

I. Native Months

1.	Nzeri	October	7.	Werurgwe	April
2.	Okwakira	November	8.	Mata	May
3.	Ogushingo	December	9.	Gichurassi	June
4.	Okuboza	January	10.	Kamena	July
5.	Mutarama	February	11.	Nyakanga	August
6.	Gashantare	March	12.	Gatumba gatoya . .	September
				Gatumba kanama .	"

Nzeri, October, is the first on the list (imfura y' amezi). The Banyarwanda, indeed, count from October onward and regard this month as the most important because the cultivation of beans begins at this time.

Okwakira, November, comes from the verb kwaka (or kwakira), which means "to shine" because the sun is quite strong. /426/

Ogushingo, December, is reputed to be a very rainy month.

Okuboza, January, comes from the word kuboza, "to rot." It often happens, indeed, that the rains of the preceding month persist and seriously damage the crops.

The word Mutarama, which comes from the verb gutarama, "to nibble" (like the verb guhekenya, with which it is synonymous) was given to the month of February because it is at that time that one finds in certain parts of Ruanda, here and there, a few ears of ripe sorghum which children do not hesitate to cut off and eat.

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Werurgwe, April. This word designates microscopic insects which occasionally prey on sorghum and quickly destroy it. Hence the expression, "Go and see whether the (above-mentioned) insects have attacked (the sorghum)" (Mulebe ngo Werurgwe itayajamo).

Gichurassi. This is the baleful month (ukwezi kubi) during which the annual mourning which lasts 15 days takes place at court. It is also the time of colds and bronchitis, hence the common ex-

[539] pression, "He who lies down with a cold will be carried away (made to die) by the month of June" (Uryamye ibichurane, igichurassi kizamutwara).

Kamena, July. This month is thus called from the word kumena, "to shatter" or "to tear out," because in those provinces of Ruanda where sorghum is cultivated only once a year people harvest the ripe ears in order to crush the grain and make bread (umutsima), which they have not tasted for a long time.

Nyakanga, August, comes from the word gukanga "to frighten." It is called thus because it is often fatal to old cows (amabuguma, ibibuguma), hence the common expression, Nyakanga ikanga amabuguma,

[539] "The month of August frightens old animals," that is to say, causes them to die.

The two terms Gatumba gatoya and Gatumba /427/ kanama formerly served to designate two months, that is, August and September, prior to the creation of the month of Mata, May. Today they indicate the two fortnights in September, thus named from the word gutumba,

[132] "to swell," because the clouds begin to gather in the sky and the rains begin to fall.

As for the month of Mata, it was created at the instigation of the sorcerers under the reign of Lwabugiri.

Mata literally means "milk," and in a figurative sense it means "abundance." It is also the name of a hill at Marangara, where as already mentioned Mutara and his son Lwabugiri established their residence because this area is reputed to bring good fortune to those who inhabit it. It is said that once for several years the rains failed to come and the crops did not ripen. In order to cope with this grave difficulty, it was resolved that henceforth a new month would be added to the year, and that this month would precede the month of

221 805 mourning (gichurassi) so as to give the crops time to ripen. And thus it was done. The name of the hill, a name of good omen, was given to the new month.

132 805 The native months correspond more or less to those of our solar year, owing to the elasticity with which the Banyarwanda endow their lunar divisions. They take the short rainy season, indeed, as their point of reference for cultivation and sowing. This rainy period bears the name of Nzeri and corresponds roughly to our month of October (1).

1. In some areas of vast Central Africa, the Blacks use the word masika, which means "rainy season" and belongs to the Kiswahili vocabulary. This term is preceded by the qualifiers "little" or "big" to denote the two rainy seasons. The little masika begins in October and usually ends in December. The big masika covers the months of February, March, April, and part of May.

We have heard it said that the Batutsi, herders living in the open air, acquired a practical knowledge of time from the plants and flowers that grow /428/ at regular intervals, and that they imparted this knowledge to the cultivators.

II. Seasons

221 805 The Banyarwanda also distinguish four seasons.

1. Uruhira, from the verb gushya, after its applicative /sic/ guhira, "to burn," designates the end of summer because this is the time when grass is burned everywhere. Another synonymous term is used, ku (1) Muyonga (ivu), which means "the time of ashes." One

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1. Ku or kw' before a vowel, or mu or mw' before a vowel /sic/, is none other than the preposition "at, in."

also says isekera, from the verb gusekera, "to cultivate," because the fields are readied at the end of summer although no planting or sowing is done, hence the difference from the word guhinga, which also means "to cultivate" but with immediate planting in mind.

2. Urugaryi. This term designates first and foremost the time when beans are cultivated (mw' itabira ry' ibishimbo) and also the time when the beans yield pods (imishogoro) tender enough to eat (gashogoro). This same season includes about a month of good weather, which enables people to harvest the beans and which has earned it the name of "little summer season." This first harvest usually takes place in January or February.

3. Itumba. This season corresponds roughly to our winter. The word that designates it comes from the verb gutumba, "to swell," to indicate that the clouds keep piling up and the rain keeps falling. Hence the synonym Urushyana, "time of heavy rains."

4. Ichyi or Mpeshi designates the summer season when the harvesting is done, hence the two synonyms mw' (1) itema from

/1. See footnote (1) immediately preceding./

gutema, "to cut," and mw' isarura from gusarura, "to harvest."

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As for the origin of the months and seasons, /429/ legend states that King Gihunga sent two of his sons to an important personage who controlled rain and good weather in order to ask him for divisions (ibihe) in the year. This extraordinary man was called Kibariro, "he who knows how to count." Thanks to the gifts that were presented to him, he agreed to adjust the year in this fashion. We can see that the Blacks manage to explain everything with their imaginative minds. It is also obvious that a slight tongue-in-cheek attitude always transpires through their many tales. It must be said, indeed, that they are not

III. Names of the Principal Rains of the Year

805 821 The generic term for rain is the word imvura. To make rain is called kubvuba, hence the name of the occupation, umuvubyi, or "rain maker," which is largely the specialty of the members of the Bashara clan.

1. Imvura y' umuhindo, "thunder rain," from the word guhinda, "to thunder," because it is a stormy downpour accompanied by lightning and thunder (in October).

2. Amahole y' imvura, "persistent rain," from the word guhora, "to persist," "to last." It is also called imvura y' indoha (from the verb kuroha, "to flood").

3. Amahuhezi, from the word guhuha, "to blow," designates windstorms when the rain is driven by the wind. /432/

4. Amassuri, "torrential rain" (1).

> 1. Umuvu serves to designate the bed of torrents suddenly scooped out by the rain.

5. Also called imivumbi, "rain that begins early in the morning and falls during the greater part of the day."

6. Amahindu, when it rains and hails (urubura, "hail").

7. Urushyana serves to designate the long rainy season in March, April, and part of May.

8. Impungira mirara or inyagira mirara, "rain that falls on several sorghum ears left in the fields"; it occasionally falls in July.

9. Intsindagir' ibigega, "rain that packs tight (the sorghum stored in) the granaries," because it falls for a day or two at the end of August when the granaries have not been covered in time.

10. Imvura y' impangukano, "rain that ends the waiting period," that is to say, the first rains that were hoped for in order to cultivate the soil (guhanga, "to hope for," and its reverse /sic/ guhanguka, "to see one's hopes fulfilled").

11. Inkaza bigunda, from gukaz' ibigunda, "to make the grass lands green again," designates the few more or less unexpected rainfalls at the end of summer.

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12. Imvura y' igisanura (2), "the rain that soaks (the parched lands), that is to say, the first showers of the rainy season.

2. Gusarura is a sort of auxiliary verb which is understood in a figurative sense and has many meanings, like the verb gukaza.

IV. Seasonal Rites

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When the sorghum-sowing time (mu kubiba) comes by, the mistress of the household takes a handful of grain which she proceeds to grind. With the resulting small amount of flour, she fashions a roll into which she slips some fruit of the shrub called intobo. Then the roll is placed in a small basket (interero or chyibo) along with a household spatula (umwuko) /433/ Meanwhile, the children of the household wrap the embers from the hearth in a bunch of grass which should contain either bran or sorghum husks whenever possible. They bury this parcel in the field which is about to be sowed.

One must not forget to add to the contents of the basket a piece of iron dross. There remains only to place the whole thing in the storage granary (ikigega), which shall be filled to the brim at harvest time as a result of this symbolic and superstitious procedure.

The owners of the hut must see to it that none of their neighbors will come to get some fire (kulahura) and enter the hut until the day when the first sorghum shoots appear.

If one were to neglect this precaution, one would incur the risk of a bad harvest (ngo batabak' umugisha).

At the time when beans are cultivated, the owner of the field sticks his spear into the ground and places on the tip of the weapon a pod of unshelled beans which he drives in lightly. His children bring him a hollowed half gourd (uruho), which is used as a basin. He fills it with water.

On a grass pad he puts a rolling stone (ibuye ry' intosho). Then a handful of beans in the pod are placed on the pad for an instant and shelled.

516 554 attention. Also, in contrast to our forms of etiquette, it is customary for the one who pours a drink, be it milk, beer, or even water, always to drink first, even though he is usually of a [125] lower social rank than the one for whom the drink is poured. This custom is easily explained: the one who proffers the drink must prove that it is good, that is to say, not poisoned.

231 805 The Mututsi also shows his high regard for the cow in the words for the time of day and the position of the sun. Early morning is expressed by inka zili munama, "the cows have been let out of the kraal." About eight o'clock in the morning is inka zahahutse, "the cows have gone to graze." At noon he says: "inka zishooka (the cows have gone to drink)." Inka zitaha, "the cows are returning," means that it is about six o'clock in the evening. Inka zikamwa, "the cows are being milked," means that it is between seven and eight in the evening.

231 192 The Batutsi use special terms to indicate the size of their herds.

Mfite kanyana, "I have a calf," means a small herd of not more than 10 head.

Mfite akaka, "I have a small cow," means a herd of 30 to 60 head.

Mfite inka imwe or mfite inka, "I have a cow," means several herds.

[55] If you say of a person that he has many cows, you are using a general expression meaning he is very influential and rich.

231 All the Mututsi's interests are bound up with the cow. Once when Ishirangabo, the brother of the present king, who conducted Count Von Götzen through Ruânda, visited Father L. Classe and me, he said: "Kireka umwami, inka zihuta byose (the cow is more important than anything except the king)."

The hope of obtaining a cow from the king, the chief, or a well-to-do man makes the Mututsi a willing client, eager to please his chosen master.

The most insignificant man who puts himself at the service of someone a little more influential hopes not to be forgotten when, on occasion, his master is given a cow.

173 some Batwa living there. The Batwa were in part driven out, in part assimilated. The latter are known as Batwa bikyugu "Batwa of the inhabited land." Very many colonists came from Kishari and Kameronse, regions north of Lake Kivu. They were driven out of their homes by raids of the cannibalistic Balioko, probably Manyema, or perhaps also of the Babira who were driven out by the Manyema. To this emigration we can probably attribute latent traces of Bakondjo in Bugoye. Besides this wave, the Bambari clan from Ndorwa came to Bugoye, as well as the Bagwabiro from the region of Ischangi on the southern shore of Lake Kivu. The latter are impoverished Batutsi who till fields and own but few cows.

805 Chronology. Time in Ruanda is divided into years, seasons, months (moons), and weeks. The weeks have only five or six days. Thanks to the kindness of Father Buisson, I can herewith give the names of the months used in Kissaka and Ussuwi, opposite the Mulera calendar. The data on Nkole have been taken from Meldon (3). [295]

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3. Meldon, "Notes on the Bahima of Nkole," Journal of the African Society, 1907, p. 137.

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Mulera	Ussuwi	Kissaka	Nkole
I. Kwakira, pea harvest, begin hoeing for millet	Kimguru	Kashantare	Biruru
II. Mutarama, millet sowing	Kakire	Werurwe	Kata
III. Werurwe, weeding millet fields	Mahingo	Kichurasi	Katumba
IV. Mata, sowing green peas (nyagasha)	Ruwoza	Kamena	Ikoma
V. Kichurasi, sowing peas	Muhiranguzu	Nyakanga	Chabahezi
VI. Kamena, one hopes to have plenty to eat soon	Rweru	Katumba	Nyerurue

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	Mulera	Ussuwi	Kissaka	Nkole
VII.	Nyakanga, begin millet harvest	Nyamatarugara	Itumba	Kichurasi
VIII.	Itumba, main harvest	Nyairira	Nsenene	Kamena
IX.	Katumba, begin hoeing for peas	Mumereze	Nkereza	Nyakanga.
X.	Nseri, hoeing peas	Kisua	Kushingwo	Kashua
XI.	Kushingwo, weeding peas	Nsenene	Kwakira	Musenene
XII.	Kaboza, planting gourds	Kibuika	Kuwoza	Itumba

The Mulera calendar is about two months behind the Kissaka calendar because the names of the months are bound up with the activities of the farmers and weather and pasture conditions. The various field chores are done two months later in the more northerly mountains of Mulera. Similarly, the Nkole calendar is two months behind Mulera because it is still farther north.

For the various proper and common names given the individual months, I succeeded in obtaining the following explanations.

Itumba nyakime: itumba of the possessor of dew.

Katumba kanama: kanama is derived from the verb kwanama, meaning "to stay in one place"; this month is very warm and one hates to move.

Nyakanga mabuguma: the one hating old cows (mabuguma); the pastures are dried up and old cows die in this month.

Kaboza kabozabihaza: gourds rot because of too much precipitation.

Mata: literally, "milk," or really, "milk month"; the pastures are lush, and there is a great abundance of milk.

During the months of ntumba, katumba, and nseri, huts are built. The millet straw is ripe, and the grass is at its tallest. At the end of nseri everything must be finished, for the rainy season begins.

805 In katumba the people begin burning off the grass on the 221 hills.

Most of the weddings take place in nseri, because much beer can be brewed in this month. For the same reason, most fights occur then.

132 There are three seasons in Kissaka.

805 [296] I. Itumba, the great rainy season extending from March to May.

II. Ichanda, the great dry season from June to October.

III. Ruhira, the secondary rainy season from November to January and sometimes February.

The secondary dry season in February does not seem to have a special name.

805 Father C. Lecoindre told me that he had the impression there were 13 months in the Ruanda year and pointed out that on my list the month of kashantare between mutarama and werurwe was not shown.

The art of chronology is only slightly developed in Ruanda, and the Bahutu seem essentially to know only the periods for certain field chores, to which they give special names, for example:

Itumba ya massaka (in the autumn),
Itumba lyi bishimbo,

or solar time:

Rugaryi (little sun),
Itsi (big sun).

644 On the other hand, life in Musinga's royal residence, at
805 least the arrival of fresh drum guards with the new moon, is regulated by the lunar division of the year, and Father C. Lecoindre's observation seems to have many points in its favor. For example, it is said that at the court of the king there is mourning during the
[834] first half of the month kichurasi. During this time men allegedly have no sexual intercourse with women. The drums at the king's court are beaten only once around 11 o'clock to greet (ndamutsu) the king; they are said to be tied up (kuzirika). The Batwa do not entertain the king with their songs during the evening gatherings. The king pronounces no sentences and accepts no presents. At ordinary law proceedings the victorious party neither sings his song

of praise nor boasts about his deeds and the number of enemies he has slain. During kichurasi they content themselves with simple clapping (kukoma mukono). People do not wear their better clothing or ornaments. Even the bulls are removed from the herds. All life that has its beginning during this period is regarded as unclean and is killed.

The period of mourning ends with the kichurasi full moon. They begin to beat the drums, very softly and very little on the first day, somewhat more on the second, until on the third day the regular beating is resumed. On the eleventh day the chiefs bring the king presents, get drunk on beer, and sacrifice sterile cows.

The end of the month of kichurasi is celebrated with a great feast for which the ntore gather at court. The feast is called kukura kichurasi. [297] I could not determine whether this feast has any connection with the myth about the redeemer (mutabazi).

This is the time of the great ceremonies of the babandwa and of sacrifices (kuterekera).

The lunar month is divided up according to the phases of the moon. Thus they speak of: imboneko, "emerging moon"; kwezi, "waxing moon"; inzoro, "full moon"; mizima, "waning moon"; imfunda, "disappearing moon." These designations, however, do not correspond to the weeks. The weeks have five to six days and are determined by the relationship of free days to compulsory work days.

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Chapter 15

Religion and Related Matters

Ancestor Worship. The religious views of the Banyaruanda do not fit into a compact, harmonious system. This is probably due not only to the low level of development of their religion, but also to the dissimilarity of the Batutsi and Bahutu cultures which have influenced each other.

Ancestor worship is the basis of religious beliefs in Ruanda as well as in the rest of the interlacustrine region.